

Message Text

PAGE 01 TEL AV 07267 151115Z

13

ACTION NEA-12

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FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9792

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

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E. O. 11652: N/A

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SUBJECT: REPORTED DAYAN VIEWS ON NEW DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY
IN MIDDLE EAST

REF: TEL AVIV 7122

1. SUMMARY. LONG MAARIV PIECE BY JERUSALEM REPORTER HARIF ALLEGEDLY OUTLINES DAYAN'S CURRENT THINKING ON DIPLOMATIC SITUATION (TEL AVIV 7230 CONTAINED EXCERPTS). THRUST IS DAYAN BELIEVES ISRAEL SHOULD OFFER NEW IDEAS TO HELP US INDUCE SADAT TO NEGOTIATE INTERIM SUEZ SETTLEMENT. DAYAN REPORTEDLY WOULD CONSIDER A) ISRAELI ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF EGYPTIAN SOVEREIGNTY OVER ALL OF SINAI, INCLUDING OVER LIMITED AREA WHICH WOULD REMAIN UNDER ISRAELI CONTROL, B) STATIONING EGYPTIAN FORCES EAST OF CANAL, C) TIME LIMIT ON INTERIM SETTLEMENT, SUCH AS TWENTY YEARS, AND D) EVENTUAL OVERALL SETTLEMENT WHICH WOULD LEAVE "SOME STRATEGIC VITAL POINTS" IN SINAI IN ISRAELI HANDS. IF GOI ADOPTED THIS POSITION, DAYAN ACCORDING TO HARIF THINKS US COULD CONCENTRATE ITS ATTENTION ON CAIRO TO GET TALKS STARTED.
END SUMMARY

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PAGE 02 TEL AV 07267 151115Z

2. AS FOLLOWUP TO MARGALIT-ESHED ARTICLES REPORTED REFTTEL, MAARIV COMMENTATOR HARIF SEPT 14 ELABORATES ON WHAT HE PERCEIVES TO BE DAYAN'S THINKING RE NEW DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY IN MIDDLE

EAST FOLLOWING ISRAELI GENERAL ELECTIONS. IN LENGTHY ARTICLE HARIF NOTES THAT WHILE GOI LEADERSHIP, INCLUDING PRIMIN MEIR, CONTINUES TO REITERATE THAT IT IS NOT UP TO ISRAEL TO COME UP WITH NEW IDEAS TO BREAK MIDDLE EAST DEADLOCK, DAYAN THIS WEEK STATED THE CONTRARY.

3. HARIF SAYS THAT THIS IS NOT FIRST TIME THAT DAYAN HAS GONE OFF ON HIS OWN AND SUGGESTED STEPS WHICH NO ONE ELSE IN GOI WAS ADVOCATING. AS EXAMPLE, HARIF CITES DAYAN'S URGING IN LATE 1970 THAT ISRAEL RETURN TO JARRING TALKS WHICH HAD BEEN BROKEN OFF BY ISRAEL IN AUGUST 1970 FOLLOWING EGYPTIAN MISSILE VIOLATIONS. RE NEED FOR "NEW IDEAS," HARIF RECALLS THAT US FIRST RAISED THIS DURING PRESIDENT SHAZAR'S TRIP TO WASHINGTON IN JAN THIS YEAR. MRS MEIR STOUTLY RESISTED NOTION THAT ISRAEL NEED COME UP WITH NEW IDEAS.

4. HARIF GOES ON TO SAY THAT DAYAN'S COLLEAGUES ARE NOT SURE AS TO DETAILS OF WHAT HE PRESENTLY HAS IN MIND. HOWEVER, HARIF SAYS DAYAN VIEWS PRESENT SITUATION IN MIDDLE EAST AS FOLLOWS: EGYPT IS NOT INTERESTED IN RESUMING HOSTILITIES EVEN THOUGH IT HAS RECENTLY RECEIVED NEW SHIPMENTS OF WEAPONS; EGYPT IS ENCOURAGED BY NEWLY PROMISED ADDITIONAL SAUDI ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND BELIEVES IT HAS A NUMBER OF CARDS WHICH IT CAN PLAY AGAINST ISRAEL. AMONG THESE ARE ARAB OIL, ARAB REVENUES FROM THE SALE OF OIL AND THE TENDENCY OF CERTAIN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES TO EXHIBIT GREATER SYMPATHY TOWARD THE ARAB POSITION. TO THIS MUST BE ADDED ARAB SUCCESS IN ISOLATING ISRAEL IN A NUMBER OF INTERNATIONAL FORA WHICH DAYAN CONCLUDES, ACCORDING TO HARIF, IS LIKELY TO BECOME EVEN WORSE FOR ISRAEL.

5. ALTERNATIVE TO THIS ISOLATION, DAYAN THINKS, IS TO BE FOUND IN MANNER IN WHICH US HANDLES MIDDLE EAST SITUATION. DAYAN CONCLUDES THAT US CAN NIP ARAB INTERNATIONAL INITIATIVES IN BUD BY RESUMPTION OF DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY IN MIDDLE EAST. DAYAN THINKS THAT IT IS UNREALISTIC TO WAIT FOR EGYPT TO TAKE FIRST STEP AND THIS, HARIF SAYS, IS APPARENTLY HOW DAYAN HAS COME TO CONCLUSION THAT "SOMETHING MUST BE OFFERED" TO US.
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PAGE 03 TEL AV 07267 151115Z

6. IN HARIF'S OPINION US BELIEVES DAYAN IS KEY MAN FOR GETTING MOTION TOWARDS MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT. THIS WAS DEMONSTRATED IN MAY 1971 CONVERSATION BETWEEN SISCO AND DAYAN RE TERMS ON INTERIM SUEZ CANAL SETTLEMENT. AT THAT TIME AMERICANS FOUND DAYAN WILLING TO SPEAK IN PRACTICAL TERMS. SISCO FOUND DAYAN WILLING TO DROP TEN KILOMETER LIMIT ON ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL

FROM SUEZ CANAL AND EXTEND IT TO 35 KILOMETERS. HARIF SAYS THERE NO DOUBT DAYAN SUGGESTED THIS DESPITE MRS MEIR'S INSISTENCE THAT IT DID NOT HAPPEN.

7. HARIF SAYS THAT PEOPLE CLOSE TO DAYAN INSIST THAT HE IS CONTINUING TO SEEK WAYS TO IMPROVE FORMULA FOR PARTIAL SETTLEMENT NOW THAT SOVIETS HAVE DEPARTED FROM EGYPT. DAYAN WAS PREPARED FOR MORE GENEROUS TERMS IN SPRING 1971 THAN OTHER ISRAELI LEADERS, AND SINCE 1972 SOVIET EXPULSION FROM EGYPT HAS BEEN WILLING TO SEE EGYPTIAN FORCES STATIONED EAST OF SUEZ CANAL-- ISSUE ON WHICH HARIF SAYS GOI STONEWALLED SISCO IN 1971. HARIF SAYS THAT EBAN WOULD SUPPORT DAYAN ON THIS POINT TODAY AND WOULD AGREE TO OTHER DEPARTURES FROM APRIL 1971 GOI DOCUMENT SETTING FORTH ISRAELI PRINCIPLES ON CANAL ARRANGEMENT.

8. HARIF SAYS THAT "WHAT DAYAN HAS IN MIND, AS SOME OF HIS COLLEAGUES UNDERSTAND IT, IS TO PARTITION SINAI FOR AS LONG AS POSSIBLE (THERE IS TALK OF TWENTY YEARS) WITHOUT CLAIMING SOVEREIGNTY OVER ANY PART (SIC) OF SINAI, AND MERELY TO EXERCISE CONTROL -- WITHOUT AFFECTING EGYPTIAN SOVEREIGN RIGHTS-- OVER THE LIMITED AREA NEEDED BY ISRAEL FOR SECURITY PURPOSES. IF THE EGYPTIANS GET USED TO A TEMPORARY SITUATION THEY WILL FIND IT EASIER TO GET USED TO AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT WHEN THE TIME COMES... HE SEES NO CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE 'NEW SETTLEMENT' WHICH HE IS PREPARED TO OFFER EGYPT AND ISRAELI ACTIVITY IN PART OF SINAI, WHICH HE THINKS MUST CONTINUE SELECTIVELY, SINCE THERE ARE SOME STRATEGIC VITAL POINTS IN SINAI WHICH ISRAEL WILL ON NOACCOUNT GIVE UP UNDER AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT."

9. HARIF CLAIMS THAT SENIOR LEVELS OF GOI BELIEVE US IS SENSITIVE TO ISRAELI DEMANDS FOR BORDER ADJUSTMENT. HARIF SAYS GOI TOOK SPECIAL NOTE THAT HAFEZ ISMAIL WAS TOLD THIS
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PAGE 04 TEL AV 07267 151115Z

SPRING IN WASHINGTON THAT FORMULA HAD TO BE FOUND TO RECONCILE EGYPTIAN SOVEREIGNTY WITH ISRAELI SECURITY. THIS WAS REPEATED IN PRESIDENT NIXON'S FOREIGN POLICY REPORT TO CONGRESS. HARIF SAYS THAT JERUSALEM BELIEVES KISSINGER WILL LAY VERY CAREFUL GROUNDWORK BEFORE HE LAUNCHES ANY INITIATIVE. OBSERVATION OF MANNER IN WHICH KISSINGER HAS HANDLED OTHER INTERNATIONAL CRISES SHOWS THAT HE BEGINS BY SEEKING WAYS TO OVERCOME PROCEDURAL OBSTACLES BEFORE GOING INTO DISCUSSIONS ON SUBSTANCE. HARIF CONCLUDES THAT KISSINGER WILL THEREFORE LOOK FOR FORMULA TO OVERCOME EGYPTIAN REFUSAL TO ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS, AND IF DAYAN'S IDEAS ARE ADOPTED THIS WILL ASSURE THAT KISSINGER WILL HAVE TO HANDLE EGYPT AND NOT ISRAEL.
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